

None the Emperour for a special love made Erle Richard to beere his friend  
to geve hym fayne George hitte Englysshmenudo addevry to bring into  
but Erle Richard heving the Empe for that he in his dome pson was  
England: he by endevour restored hit to by asynd / faryng the dy  
hit by his dome pson / shulde be more acceptable / & worshipful of m  
so he did / for in shorte space after he come into England / and was  
knyght of the Garter and offred to the holy lye hym self / when  
worshipfuller yet kept at Wyndesore And in his comynge / & stayng  
Erle Richard then began fapteme the howsably respected hym And  
saide to the king that no pnce cristyn for wysdom wortur / & manlyde  
a nygh knyght as he hadde of thele of Wyndesore addyng pto. that  
were list / yet myght hit be founde anyem in hym And so end after  
under the name called the  
foure of Embery



Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:

arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában



Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:  
arisztokraták  
Magyarországon és Európában



MŰVELTSÉG ÉS TÁRSADALMI SZEREPEK: ARISZTOKRATÁK  
MAGYARORSZÁGON ÉS EURÓPÁBAN

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SPECULUM HISTORIAE DEBRECENIENSE 18.  
(A Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete Kiadványai)

*Sorozatszerkesztő:*

PAPP KLÁRA

**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek:  
arisztokraták  
Magyarországon és Európában**

**Learning, Intellect and Social Roles:  
Aristocrats  
in Hungary and Europe**

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## ELŐSZÓ

2013 szeptemberében az OTKA pályázat tagjai meghívást kaptak az Eperjesi Egyetemre, a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: a 17–20. századi arisztokrácia műveltsége, művészetet és az oktatás fejlesztését, a birtokok építését, modernizációját támogató tevékenysége” című konferenciára, amelyet a város polgármestere mellett a kassai magyar főkonzul asszony nyitott meg. A 22 előadó közül többen elküldték tanulmányaikat jelen kötetünkbe.

A Debreceni Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara működésének 100. évfordulóján, 2014 októberében a Kar egy 12 szekcióban tartott előadássorozattal tisztelgett az elődök emléke előtt. A Történelmi Intézet két szekció munkáját szervezte, „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: az arisztokrácia változó társadalmi szerepe” címmel. Mindkettő az arisztokrácia kutatásának új elméleti és módszertani irányait kívánta bemutatni, az egyik európai kitekintéssel idegen nyelven, a másik elsősorban a kora újkorra és az újkorra koncentrálva, az intézet határon túli partner intézményei kutatóinak bevonásával, magyar nyelven. Az idegen nyelvű szekció munkáját a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia – Debreceni Egyetem „Magyarország a középkori Európában” **Lendület kutatócsoportja** és annak vezetője, Bárány Attila szervezte, az ő írásaik és neves külföldi vendégeik tanulmányai is szerepelnek a kötetben. A szekciók plenáris előadói Jean-Luc Fray professzor (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) és jómagam voltunk.

Mivel 2013 végén megalakult, s 2014 tavaszán az egyetem szenátusa által is elfogadást nyert a **Nemzetközi Inter-Regionális Társadalomtörténeti és Néprajzi Kutatási Központ**, a most az olvasóközönséghez kerülő kötet a „Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták a 17–20. századi Magyarországon” című, az OTKA által támogatott 83521 azonosító számú pályázat résztvevői mellett az abban megnevezett egyetemek kutatóinak első közös benyújtkozása is.

Az arisztokrácia fontos, bár állandóan változó, és fő tendenciájában csökkenő szerepet játszott Magyarország politikai, társadalmi, gazdasági és kulturális elitjének történelmében. A főúri réteg azonban soha nem volt egységes, néhány fogalommal egyszerűen megragadható és leírható csoport. Ahogyan változtak a politikai-társadalmi viszonyok, úgy változott és módosult az arisztokrácia helye

és szerepe, még hangsúlyosabbá téve egyébként is meglévő belső differenciáltságot. Az arisztokrácia társadalmi szerepének, tevékenységének összetett és árnyalt vizsgálatát azért is fontos kiemelni, mert a korábbi évtizedekben számos felzárkózás, megalapozatlan és ideologikus állítás kapcsolódott hozzájuk. A kötetbe tanulmányokat publikáló hazai és külföldi történészek éppen ezért azt kívánják a középpontba állítani, hogy az arisztokrácia tevékenysége, közéleti szerepvállalása hogyan, milyen területeken érvényesült, s ehhez kapcsolódva tudásuk, műveltségük milyen feladatok ellátására, pozíciók birtoklására tette őket alkalmassá.

A Magyar Királyság meghatározó szerepet betöltő társadalmi rétegét alkotta az arisztokrácia, amely az uralkodói hatalomtól fontos feladatokat kapott az ország irányítására és vállalta is a rangjának megfelelő szerepvállalást.

Ahogy Magyarországon belül Erdély külön régiót alkotott, úgy az arisztokrácián belül is sajátos réteget képeztek az erdélyiek. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi helyzetének, életkörülményeinek, karrierlehetőségeinek a vizsgálata jelenti a vizsgálatok második fő ívét. A 17. században a térség politikai-közigazgatási értelemben a fejedelmi udvar köré szerveződött, s a fejedelmek természetesen saját udvartartással rendelkeztek. Az erdélyi mágnásokat magyarországi társaiknál hagyományosan nagyobb és jelentékenyebb politikai, valamint társadalmi aktivitás jellemezte. Az erdélyi arisztokraták társadalmi szerepvállalásának kiemelkedő területeként jelölhető meg az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület.

A reformkori és a dualizmus-kori arisztokrácia különösen érzékenyen reagált a hagyomány kontra megújulás dilemmájára, az új jelenségekhez igazodva formálta ki saját társadalmi-közéleti szerepeit, de tudatosan új mintákat is teremtett. A 19–20. századi, átalakuló, modernizálódó Magyarország többször is új kihívások elé állította, társadalmi szerepének újragondolására készítette az arisztokráciát, amelyet a szerzőink tanulmányai a korábbi korszakokhoz hasonlóan alaposan vizsgálnak.

A sokrétű vizsgálatok eredményeit tartalmazó gazdag kötet reményt ad arra, hogy tanulmányai számíthatnak a szakmai közönség mellett az arisztokrácia iránt érdeklődő olvasóközönség figyelmére is.

Prof. Dr. Orosz István  
akadémikus



## FOREWORD

*In September 2013 the members of the OTKA (Hungarian National Research Fund) Research Group of the University of Debrecen were invited to the University of Prešov, to give papers at the conference „**Learning and Social Roles: 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Aristocracy and its Culture, Art and Education Patronage and its Support of Agrarian Modernization**”. The conference was opened by the Mayor of Košice and Her Excellence The Chief Consul of Hungary in Košice. Several of the 22 speakers are representing themselves with their papers in the present volume.*

*The volume is the proceedings of the international conference held to address the centennial anniversary of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Debrecen in October 2014. The Faculty aimed to honour the memory of the forefathers in a series of papers, read in 12 sessions. The Institute of History organized two sessions, entitled “Learning, Intellect and Social Roles: the Changing Social Role of the Aristocracy”. Both wished to introduce new theoretical approaches and research methods in the study of aristocracy, which could bring forward new innovative possibilities, one with a European perspective, mainly in the field of medieval studies, in the company of renowned international scholars giving papers in English, German and French languages, the other focusing on the Early Modern and Modern Times, embracing those scholars, who have long been in a fruitful co-operation with the Institute, mainly from Hungarian-language research centres in present-day Slovakia and Romania. The former, foreign-language medieval session was furthered by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen „**Lendület**” Research Group „Hungary in Medieval Europe” and its organization was greatly helped by its leader, Attila Bárány. The articles of the research group and the ones of their guest-speakers of research centres from France through Poland to Germany are also to be found in the proceedings. The key-note speakers of the sessions were Professor Jean-Luc Fray (Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand) and myself.*

*Since upon the initiative of the Institute of History the **International Inter-Regional Social History and Ethnography Research Group** was established at the end of 2013 – which was also acknowledged by the Senate of the University of Debrecen in Spring 2014 –, the volume is the first occasion where its members can introduce themselves to the public. The proceedings is also the fruit of the work of the members of several institutions within the OTKA project „**Culture and Social Roles: Aristocrats in 17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary**” (registration no. 83521).*

*Aristocracy played an important, but continuously changing and in its major tendency decreasing role in the history of European political, social, economic*

*and cultural elite. However, the higher nobility was never a uniform layer that can be easily grasped and described with a few simple characteristics. As political-social relations were changing, its place and role did alike vary, further deepening its inner, existing differentiation. It is worth highlighting a more complex and balanced investigation of the social role and activity of the aristocracy, since in recent decades it has received many superficial, unfounded and ideological statements. Therefore, the proceedings aim to focus the way and the spheres the aristocracy played an active public role, and in relation to this, what tasks and positions they were to be assigned upon their intellect and learning.*

*The higher nobility played a decisive role in Europe and was thus allotted important tasks in the government which they duly undertook.*

*As Transylvania was a separate region within the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvanian higher nobles had peculiar characteristics within the Hungarian aristocracy. The panel's second focus is the study of the social role, living circumstances, career possibilities of Transylvanian aristocrats. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the government and administration of Transylvania was organized around the princely court, the princes had an own household. Transylvanian magnates played a more active and more significant political and social roles than their counterparts in Royal Hungary, as it is to be seen in the workings of the Transylvanian Museum Association.*

*The aristocracy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Reform Period was particularly sensitive towards the dilemma of tradition versus reform. It formed its own social and public roles aligning to the new phenomena, but it also made new patterns. They were to see many challenges in the modernization of 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> century Hungary, and were to re-evaluate their social roles, which are to be presented in the prospective papers here, also giving a deep insight into these issues in earlier periods.*

*The volume involving the results of manifold investigations leads us to hope that its articles would attract the attention not only of the academic but a wider public.*

*Prof. Dr. István Orosz  
Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

**Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek  
a középkorban /  
Learning, Intellect and Social Roles  
in the Middle Ages**

## ENGLISH CHIVALRIC INSIGNIA IN HUNGARY\*

In my former researches I have been seeking to explore the how the mainstream developments of later medieval Western European aristocracy affected Hungarian higher nobility, especially in the field of representation and status, through the medium of the usage of the insignia of monarchical orders, dynastic devises, liveries, emblems, badges. The paper investigates the progress of status consciousness in the spheres of material culture and way of living. Prime focus is given to iconographic evidence, for instance, coats of arms on tombstones. A major issue is how and in what way Hungarian nobles started to follow Western European patterns, shedding light to different models of self-representation. The roots of the change in self-consciousness and behavioural development can be traced back to royal visits to Western European courts, mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, where members of entourages spent several weeks on missions in courts from Westminster to Paris.

The point to start out from is the Töketerebes tombstone (present-day Trebišov, Slovakia, Roman Catholic church) of Master of the Treasury János Perényi (from the family's Terebes branch, †1458), where an SS chain – the devise of the Plantagenet and later the Lancastrian dynasty – is to be seen around the blazon. The highly prestigious emblem is not the only illustrious knightly badge carved on the gravestone: the not less esteemed Aragonian insignium of the Order of the Jar is also depicted (a jar, hanging on a binaural stole with three lilies with the inscription: “ma(r)ia ora p(ro) nob(is)”, on a tape of the upper curve of the stole).<sup>1</sup> The badges of highly esteemed chivalrous fraternities – of which the

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\* The article is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen „Lendület” Research Group („Hungary in Medieval Europe”) as well as by the Inner Research Grant of the University of Debrecen.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Imre, Secret Chancellor from the Terebes branch, *culicus*: Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. I–XII. (1387–1425) Coll. Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa – Norbert C. Tóth – Tibor Neumann – Bálint Lakatos. [Charters of the age of King Sigismund] Budapest, 1951–2013. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 1., 3–4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43., 49. and 52.) [hereinafter ZsO] V. nr. 1170.; Csergheő and Csoma wrongly attributes the SS



English, Lancastrian SS-collar is to be discussed here<sup>2</sup> – testify that a Hungarian baron of the Luxemburgian period was aware of the mainstream developments of European knightly culture and baronial representation, and was able to make benefit of them in his status consciousness. The fact that a Hungarian nobleman had highest honours of Western European courts carved on his tombstone makes one assume that the links between the knightly societies of Western and Central Europe were closer as we had formerly thought.

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insignia to the Sword order of the Cyprian Lusignan Kings. Csergheő, Géza – Csoma, József, „A Perényiek középkori síremlékei” [The medieval tombs of the Perényi], = *Archaeológiai Értesítő* (Új folyam), [hereinafter AÉ] 8, 1888, 299–303. 300.; Csergheő, Géza – Csoma, József, *Alte Grabdenkmäler aus Ungarn*. Budapest, 1890. [further, Csergheő – Csoma] 39–46. Fig. 41.; Engel, Pál – Lövei, Pál – Varga, Livia, „Zsigmond-kori bárói síremlékeinkről” [On Sigismund-age baronial tombs in Hungary], = *Ars Hungarica*, 11, 1983, 21–48. 36–37. Table X. Here the authors identify it with the Cyprian insignia, nevertheless, they describe exactly the typical accessory of the English SS chain, the small slashed edged quadratic plate, hanging on a three-hunk and with a gemstone in the middle. In 1986 Árpád Mikó, though questionably, still identified it with the Lusignan-order of Cyprus. Mikó, Árpád, „Jagelló-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről” [On Renaissance tombstones in Jagiellonian Hungary], = *Ars Hungarica* [hereinafter AH] 14, 1986, 97–113. 97. Lövei (and Livia Varga) in 1987 revised their standpoint and correctly identified it with the English SS chain. Lövei, Pál, „Síremlékszobrászat” [Funeral sculpture], In: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában*. [Art in the age of Sigismund] Eds. László Beke – Ernő Marosi – Tünde Wehli. Budapest, 1987. I–II. [hereinafter Művészet] II. 277–303. 297. Fig. 53. Verneikronberger, Emil, *Magyar középkori síremlékek*. Budapest, 1939. 41. (He does not mention any insignia). Balogh, Jolán, „Későrenaissance kőfaragó műhelyek. I.” [Late Renaissance stone masonry centres], = AH, 2, 1974, 27–58. 34. Fig. 1.; Feld, István – Cabello, Juan, *A fizéri vár*. [Füzér Castle] Miskolc, 1980. 41.; *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*. [Hungarian art 1300–1470] I–II. Ed. Marosi Ernő. Budapest, 1987. [hereinafter MMűv], I. 588., 694. II. Fig. 1680.; Lövei, Pál, *Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria, Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához*. [Introductory chapters to the catalogue of medieval Hungarian funeral art] Academic Doctoral Thesis. I–II. & Appendix. Budapest, 2009. [<http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/> – January 19, 2012.] [hereinafter Lövei, Posuit] I. 65. 83., 462., 478. Fig. 273–276. Gervers-Molnár, Vera, *Sárospataki síremlékek*. [Sárospatak tombs] Budapest, 1983. Fig. 42.; *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Zsigmond korában, 1387–1437*. [Art and culture in the age of Sigismund] Kiállításkatalógus. Ed. Imre Takács Imre. Budapest – Luxembourg, 2006. [hereinafter Sigismundus] 348. Cat. nr. 4.52. (Pál Lövei); Luxová, Viera, „Memento mori, formy náhrobnej skulptúry”, In: *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Red. Dusan Buran et al. Bratislava, 2003. 325–33. 326. 666., Cat. nr. 2.2.7. Also see Homolka, Jaromír, *Gotická plastika na Slovensku*. Bratislava, 1972. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Mediaeval Europe, 1325–1520*. New York, 1987. 484–86. More recently see: Fletcher, Doris, „The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations Down the Ages”, In: *The Age of Richard II*. Ed. James Gillespie. Stroud, 1997. 191–204.; Ward, Michael, „The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity in Late-Medieval England”, In: L. Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century XIII. Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*. Woodbridge, 2014. 41–61.;

On his visit to England in 1416, King Sigismund Luxemburg of Hungary, also King of the Romans received the Order of the Garter from Henry V, King of England, which was to have the Anglo-Imperial, anti-Valois alliance, contracted in Canterbury a couple of months afterwards, sealed. The Saint George Day service of the Order of the Garter of April in Windsor was also held out of tradition. The feast of the saint was postponed onto May 24 just in order to make it possible for Henry to admit Sigismund as Knight of the Garter.<sup>3</sup> There was even a new statute made to prorogue the feast day, and it seems it was further delayed because of Sigismund's arrival only on May 1. In the Chapel of St. George, Windsor Sigismund was made Knight of the Garter and received the insignia of the Order – which the King consciously sought to wear in all his public audiences.<sup>4</sup> At the ceremony Sigismund sat on the right of the King of England, at the stall held for Henry V as Prince of Wales, still being empty up to that time.<sup>5</sup> Sigismund was also given a present of extraordinarily high esteem: the SS

<sup>3</sup> „Solempnia sancti Georgii, hucusque ob ipsius reverenciam et adventum dilata.” *Gesta Henrici Quinti. The Deeds of Henry the fifth*. Eds. F. Taylor – J. S. Roskell, Oxford, 1975. 132.

<sup>4</sup> „Inter que solempnia idem supremus princeps imperator prius electus et admissus in fraternitatem militum [...] installacionis insignia receperunt.” *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 133. „Instante quoque festivitate Sancti Georgii Martyris, imperator huic festivitati interfuit, ubi eligitur in fraternitatem Militiae de Gartere, et debitis insigniis installatur.” Capgrave, John, *Liber de illustribus Henricis*. Ed. F. C. Hingeston. London, 1869. (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores. Rolls Series [hereinafter RS], 7) 118.; „Ipse eciam Imperator in Fraternitatem sive societatem militarem de la Gartiere, in quam nobiles, secundum sua in actibus bellicis merita, promoventur, tam in sui honoris incrementum, quam in ejusdem fraternitatis decus immensum, frater eligitur, & assensu regio ordinatur.” *Thomae de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis*. Ed. Thomas Hearne. Oxford, 1727. (i.e. the so-called Pseudo-Elmham) 76.; „Rex autem [...] ducens eum ad festum sancti Georgij, honorans illic eum et tante fraternitatis titulo et religionis illius nobili indumento: signumque regalle imposuit collo suo quod imperator exposit semper gessit in omni conventu publico vel actu notorio.” Walsingham, Thomas, *Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani. 1406–1420*. Ed. V.H. Galbraith, Oxford, 1937. 100. „Fuitque idem Imperator in Anglia [...] et factus est consors et sodalis collegii Sancti Georgii Wyndeshor.” [...] „Sigismundus Romanorum et Henricus Anglie et Francie Reges temporibus istis maxima familiaritate summa mutuaque benevolencia inter se complixi sunt, ita quod in fraternitatem Militum Garterii Sigismundus ascribi peteret, et ascriptus est.” *The Latin Brut*, In. Kingsford, C. L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford, 1913. 287. 328.; „Windsoriae nobilis equestris ordinis Garterii sodales utrique dicebantur.” *Vita Henrici Quinti Roberto Redmanno auctore*, In. *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, king of England*. Ed. C. A. Cole. London, 1858. 49.; „Sigismundus Romanorum & Henricus Angliae & Franciae reges temporibus istis maxima familiaritate, summa mutuaque benevolentia inter se complexi sunt, ita ut in fraternitatem militum Garterii rex Augustissimus Sigismundus ascribi peteret & ascriberetur”. *Titi Livii Foro-juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti regis Angliae*. Ed. Thomas Hearne. Oxford, 1716. 24.; „In so much the Emperor desired to be admitted in the order of the Garter...”: *First English Life of king Henry the Fifth*, by the Translator of Livius. Ed. C. L. Kingsford. Oxford, 1911. 69.

<sup>5</sup> „...at the posessy on the kynge went a-pone the upper-most syde of the emperowre, and soo alle the masse tyme he stode a-bove the emperoure. Ande at the mete the kyng sate on the ryght syde of the emperoure”. „Gregory”: *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth*

collar of the Lancastrian dynasty, which was never attested to a ruler of a foreign country.<sup>6</sup> The King of Hungary was absolutely aware of the political capital of the award, he received the collar upon his own wish.<sup>7</sup> He was never reluctant to wear the insignia of the Order of the Garter and the Lancastrian collar.<sup>8</sup> When Sigismund returned to the Council of Constance, in order to signify that he was acting in terms of his new English alliance, he flaunted of his membership of the Order of the Garter: he was wearing the insignia of the Order together with the SS-collar – as was reported to King Henry by John Forester, the envoy placed in the company of the King of the Romans, probably together with Lord Tiptoft.<sup>9</sup> What struck the king's correspondent and surprised all Europe, we could say, was that he was wearing the SS-collar and the Garter-insignia, „a glad syghte for alle your lyge men to se”.<sup>10</sup> He was deliberate in wearing the insignia at all public ceremonies afterwards.<sup>11</sup> He esteemed the honour so much that he ever hereafter wore the collar in all assemblies. There are expenses listed in the Wardrobe mandate for the budget of the year of 1423 for Sigismund's Order of the Garter garments, *robes d'ermine*, and garter belts with golden letters decorated. The sum proposed for 1423 totals 42 pounds 10 shillings.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have information about any expenses proposed for the SS-insignium, probably because it was a once and for all donation, a chain made

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*Century*. Ed. John Gairdner. London, 1876. (Camden Society, n. s. 17) 113.; Beltz, George F., *The Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*. London, 1841. lvi.; lvii. „sätte in their stalles all the solemnitee of the feast”: Hall, Edmund, *Chronicle containing the history of England during the reign of Henry IV and the succeeding monarchs*. London, 1809. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II. 1381–1422. Ed. T. H. Riley, London, 1864. II. 316. Also see Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae*. I–XX. London, 1704–35. IX. 434.

<sup>7</sup> „... at his desyre”: *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 376. „he was electe and chosen to be a broder of the garter, whiche he toke and received gladly, and ware it ever after”. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*. Together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century. Ed. J. R. Lumby. I–IX. (RS, 61) London, 1865–1886. VIII. Appendix. 552.

<sup>8</sup> „When the French saw him bear the King of England's device, they were extremely vex'd ... The emperor at his publick entry into Konstanx, was pleased to wear the Collar.” Goodwin, Thomas, *The History of the reign of Henry the Fifth, King of England*. London, 1704. 145.

<sup>9</sup> February 2, 1417: ZsO. VI. nr. 68.; The whole report is published in Rymer, *Foedera*, The Hague Edn. 1739–45, IV/2. 192.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Jacob, E. F., *Henry V and the Invasion of France*. London, 1947. 115.

<sup>12</sup> „pro emyns pro rege et Imperatore pro eadem libarata... pro ccc. garteriis cum literis aureias pro dictis rege et Imperatore”: *Letters and Papers, Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, during the reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*. Ed. Joseph Stevenson. London, 1861. 384.

of golden SS-letters, which was not to be renewed in years' time as it was to be done with the Garter robes.

In return, Henry V, the King of England might have been made member of the Sigismundian Order of the Dragon in 1416, although there is no data to justify this, apart from his inquisition post mortem, mentioning „dragon emblems marked with the Cross”.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the figure of the dragon is also to be found amongst the badges of the Lancastrians, which might lead us to assume further relations between the Luxemburgians and England. The Lancastrians are related to have a triper [a three-legged stand] in the shape of a *dragon volant* with a crowned damsel sitting on a green ground, which must have most probably been given to John of Gaunt, father of King Henry IV as a present of plate by his intimate friend, Humphrey de Bohun, the Earl of Hereford.<sup>14</sup> The de Bohun inheritance founded the personal wealth of Henry of Bolingbroke, later to become King Henry IV through his marriage to Hereford's daughter. Henry of Bolingbroke must have also been touched by the spirit of Christian chivalry through his father-in-law's crusader reputation – Humphrey and Henry fought many times together, the father-in-law being the feoffee of the Duke of Lancaster and a retainer deputy captain of the Lancastrian retinue as well, thus, the young prince could have found his spiritual chivalrous leader in the Earl of Hereford.<sup>15</sup> On occasion of the meeting of King Henry V and Sigismund, the King of England could have been already touched by and connected to the de Bohun-origin dragon emblem when he was to learn of Sigismund's Order of the Dragon symbol. Henry V was to feel a commitment to the de Bohun dragon through his mother's – Mary de Bohun – family, of which he wished to signify, and which tie was to be confirmed by the unique present the King gave to Sigismund, the chivalrous badge of his family, the SS collar, which was never attested on to any ruler but the King of Hungary.

Already from the 1390s it is documented that Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the would-be Henry IV wore a

<sup>13</sup> Lövei, Pál, „A Sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei”, [The survived relics of the Order of the Dragon] In: Művészet, I. 148–179.

<sup>14</sup> *John of Gaunt's Register*. Vol. I–II. Ed. S. Armitage-Smith. London, 1911. (Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> series, Vol. XX–XXI) Vol. 1372–76: Nr. 1124.

<sup>15</sup> Hereford was the son of William de Bohun, the great Constable of England, one of the most outstanding generals of Edward III in France. He himself was a notable crusader, campaigned in Prussia in 1363 and took part in the 1365 crusade of Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus and in his capture of Alexandria. Goodman, Anthony, *John of Gaunt. The Exercise of Princely Power in 14th-century Europe*. Harlow, 1992. 275. On the marriage see: Holmes, G. A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in 14th-century England*. Cambridge, 1957. 24.



collar tied by S-letters.<sup>16</sup> The insignium, a chain of 'S' letters originally meant to be a collar. On a portrait of King Henry V of England it is not yet a chain, but attached to the collar of the monarch's garment, that is, the chain of the 'S'-s is the clothes' collar itself.<sup>17</sup>

One of the first iconographic representation of the SS-collar is a portrait of King Richard II, though this is not the „full” SS chain, but one linked with two 'S' letters along with other sorts of buckles.<sup>18</sup> King Richard cannot wear the chain as a way of legacy towards the Lancastrians, since he himself was not of the collateral but of the main Plantagenet line. Nonetheless, he had a most intimate relationship with his uncle, the founder of the house, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, which might be the reason why he was formally received in the fraternity of the house of Lancaster. Later on it is automatically the Lancastrian monarch who presides over the association. As Richard II was deposed at the end of his reign and the collateral Lancastrian branch was to be ascended to the throne with Henry IV in 1399, the SS-collar became in a way a symbol of legitimacy, counterposed with the Order of the Garter that was to get closely attached to the main Plantagenet line with King Edward III. In the field of iconographic representations the first is King Henry V that is described with the Lancastrian insignium in his statue on the choir of York Minster.<sup>19</sup> At the

<sup>16</sup> The earliest recorded documentary description appears in the Wardrobe Account of Henry, Earl of Derby, (15 Rich II): 1391: „Pro I Coler auri facti Cum XVIj literis de S ad modum plumarum cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdem cum Signo in toreto ejusdem”. A following one: 1392: „Pro pondere argenti unius Coleri facti cum Esses rollati”. Knowles, Richard, „Medieval Livery Collars”, In: The Richard III Foundation, [http://www.richard111.com/medieval\\_livery\\_collars.htm](http://www.richard111.com/medieval_livery_collars.htm) – November 30, 2014.; Ward, Livery, 43.

<sup>17</sup> For example: „S-szemekből álló lánc”, [A chain consisting of „S” buckles] In: Sigismundus, 354. Cat. nr. 4.61. (Pál Lövei); Lövei, Pál, „Uralkodói lovagrendek a középkorban, különös tekintettel Zsigmond Sárkányrendjére”, [Monarchical orders in the Middle Ages, with special attention the Sigismund's Order of the Dragon] In: Sigismundus, 250–54. 252. Fig. 9. According to Windecke the gifts of the King of England were pawned immediately in the autumn of 1416 in Bruges: „ein halsbant des koniges von Engelant Gesellschaft, und darain hing ein fürsprang was ein demant costlichen und schon...”: Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds. Hrsg. Wilhelm Altmann. Berlin, 1893. 82.; Eberhard Windecke emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról. [Windecke's memories on King Sigismund an his age] Trans. Renáta Skorka. Budapest, 2008. 73. Kovács, Éva, „Gótikus ronde-bosse zománc a budai udvarban”, [Gothic ronde-bosse enamel in the Buda court] = *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 31, 1982, 89–94. 91, Eadem, „Hattyú és strucc: Lancaster és Luxemburgi”, [Swan and ostrich: Lancaster and Luxemburg], = *Építés – Építészettudomány* 12, 1980, 1–4: 231–239. 235. [In: Eadem, *Species Modus Ordo. Válogatott tanulmányok*. [Selected articles] Eds. Mária Verő – Imre Takács. Budapest, 1998. 282–291.] 286.

<sup>18</sup> Painted on a wooden table, unknown artist, c. 1395, Westminster Abbey. Saul, Nigel, *Richard II*. London, 1996. cover.; Marosi, Ernő, *A középkor művészete*. [The art of the Middle Ages] Budapest, 1998. II. 1250–1500. 168. Table 5., 7.

<sup>19</sup> Hariss, G. L. (ed.), *Henry V. The practice of kingship*. Oxford, 1985. cover.

beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the collar is an unquestionable house emblem, it is not to be found only in the effigies and representations of the members of the Lancaster dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, Henry VI on his most familiar portrait does not even wear any other royal insignia but the SS.<sup>21</sup> It might lead us to assume that the collar was becoming a special treat to denote dynastic legitimacy and the political power of the Lancastrians. Towards the Tudor period it is to be raised as high as the monarchs are not represented without the collar: Henry VII has no portrait where he does not wear the collar, what is more, Henry VIII has several pictures where he is wearing only the SS in his neck. With the SS the Tudors by that time appealed that this was the token of their legitimate succession through the maternal side of the Beaufort-Lancastrian family.<sup>22</sup>

Another representation of the early 1420s shows Henry V not only having the SS around his neck, but the welt of his throne is also decorated with 'S' letters.<sup>23</sup> SS are to signify the only place where the sole legitimate monarch of the House of Lancaster is to sit. 'S' letters also appear on the robe of King Henry IV where he raises his claim to the crown of England. The SS symbolism is to render the dynasty's right to the throne.<sup>24</sup> The one who wears the SS has the right for power. In addition, the 'S' letters did not only denote a Lancastrian emblem, but connected and then unified it with the personal badge of King Henry V, the swan.<sup>25</sup> The swan symbolism can be seen in some of the initials decorating the personal letters of the King: the bend of the starting „Henricus” is shaped by a swan figure. On an outer wall of the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, in the scene depicting the coronation of the ruler, the throne is upheld by a swan figure. The swan livery, along with the SS one, became closely attached to those politically committed towards the dynasty. The donation of the “liveree del Cigne” was restricted to a narrow circle, and, as was fixed by the Parliament, was only possible on certain peculiar occasions.<sup>26</sup> Henry IV's motto implies sovereignty (*sovereyn*),<sup>27</sup> his sons's one is also formed by an S symbolics: S and S, i.e. “une sanz plus et sovereign”, which had already been used by his father, who saw the „S” as an embodiment of royal sovereignty. The SS, though its

<sup>20</sup> E.g. the effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Henry V's brother, Canterbury Cathedral. Earle, Peter, *The Life and Times of Henry V*. London, 1972. 74.

<sup>21</sup> National Portrait Gallery, London. Ross, Charles, *The Wars of the Roses*. London, 1982. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, Livery.

<sup>23</sup> In an illuminated codex: „Jean de Galopes offers the French translation of St. Bonaventure's *Vita Christi*”: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 213. f. 1r.

<sup>24</sup> Earle, Henry V, 40–41.

<sup>25</sup> Kovács, Hattyú, 236.

<sup>26</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum ut et petitiones et placita in Parlamento tempore 1278–1532*. I–VI. Ed. J. Strachey et al. London, 1767–1777. III. 477–78.

<sup>27</sup> Lövei, „S-szemekből”, 354.

etymology has several explanations – *souveignez* (remember), or a combination of *saintete* (sanctity), *sagesse* (wisdom), *sapience* (learning), and *seigneurie* (lordship) – however, by the 15<sup>th</sup> century it became equal with *sanctissimus*. King Henry V sought to nurture the nimbus of the sole, sacred king role.<sup>28</sup> Narrative tradition holds that the monarch, the wearer of the SS was of the utmost honour and excellence, who „could have felt the Earth and the Sky as his own”.<sup>29</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Garter is not to be confused with the SS-chain: the latter is not at all the former's attachment. The collar developed in a way that it is not to be seen in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a “complementer” badge of the Garter, yet a special, separate dynastic devise, denoting an even closer, narrower chivalric association. There was a high esprit de corps assigned to those privileged to wear the SS collar – originally referring the retinue of the Dukes of Lancaster – is also highlighted by narrative sources.<sup>30</sup> Although it seems the SS-chain was originally mostly donated together with the award of the Garter, it gradually became a separate livrée of the liveries of the Lancastrians throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, to which the dynasty attributed an immense significance – the rulers wore it openly and it can be detected on several representations of monarchs as well (Henry VI, Richard III). The SS-collar became a livrée particularly attached to the Lancastrians, who sought to have themselves separated from the Plantagenet Order of the Garter. The collar was a peculiar means to denote a commitment towards their own branch, their own Lancastrian house. The wearers of the SS-collar should not be interpreted as members of a mere chivalrous society order. The SS-chain was the dynasty's own institution, which comprised a narrower circle of followers. The wearers of the SS-collar would immediately be distinguished from retainers of other lords wearing the more common livery badges.<sup>31</sup> It was not taken as an emblem of a ceremonial knightly syndicate or a tournament fraternity. Those who wore it, like Sigismund in Constance, wanted to express their political alliance with the English dynasty, symbolizing some sort of political commitment and the peculiar grace they enjoyed from the Crown of England. The donation of the SS chain had mostly political significance: those awarded with it were highly appreciated through some of their loyal acts and received a supreme royal grace by the Lancastrian Crown. The insignium would never become an everyday royal reward, automatically given in large quantities. The number of those elevated to the honour is just over 100 in the period

<sup>28</sup> Csoma – Csergheő, Perényiek, 296–300. However, several explanations are being suggested for the implication of SS: Sanctus Simplicius, Simplicius and Faustinus martyrs and their followers etc. Knowles, Medieval.

<sup>29</sup> *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394*. Eds. L.H. Hector – B.F. Harvey. Oxford, 1982. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Walsingham, *Chronicon Angliæ*, 125.

<sup>31</sup> Ward, Livery, 44.

between 1399 and 1509.<sup>32</sup> Those who belonged to this intimate company were by all means faithful followers of the Lancastrian cause, such as the ones assisting Henry IV in his ascension to the throne like Sir William Bagot;<sup>33</sup> or, the true compatriots-in-arms of Henry V, such as Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmorland, Sir Thomas Erpingham and Walter, Lord Fitzwalter.<sup>34</sup> A most striking example is of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who was in fact in Constance and as a manuscript evidence signifies, he met not only King Sigismund but a couple of his company as well, either in the synod, or in their England stay. He is an illustrious follower of the Lancastrian cause, and accordingly wears the livery collar.<sup>35</sup> As opposed to the Lancastrian association of political emphases, the rival House of York was also to have a peculiar, dynastic emblem, that is, a chain of sun-disc, which was not only worn by the members of the York family, but those closely knit followers who excelled in their anti-Lancastrian commitment during the Wars of the Roses.<sup>36</sup>

In my view, the SS-livery, at least until the end of the reign of Henry V, was not something that was given away to foreign monarchs to donate it further to their own knights. The reference referred to by Hagemann and disclosed by Éva Kovács, that is, in 1434 Henry VI gave Sigismund „6 colaria auri, 24 colaria deaurata” and „alia colaria argenti”, does not indicate that these colaria were of the SS-livery. Furthermore, it does not specify that it involved the right to award these colaria further.<sup>37</sup> Thus, it has great importance that the devise, which is closely connected to the dynasty, was received by a Hungarian baron. The SS-chain was to be awarded only those who excelled in the service of the House of Lancaster, and in a way we might propose that János Perényi did a service of high importance to King Henry V himself during his England visit together with King Sigismund in 1416.

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> The effigy of Sir William Bagot, Parish Church, Baginton, Warwickshire. Saul, Table 17.

<sup>34</sup> The effigy of Lord Fitzwalter, Parish Church, Little Dunmow, Essex.

<sup>35</sup> *The Pageant of Richard de Beauchamp, the thirteenth earl of Warwick*, British Library Manuscripts Collection, Cotton MS E. iv. art. 6. f. 17v. He is not only depicted, but the collar itself is mentioned in the text: „the Collar of the Livery of the House of Lancaster”. f. 23r.

<sup>36</sup> George, Duke of Clarence holding a sun-disc chain in his hand. *A pictorial history of the earls of Warwick, printed from the Yorkist roll in possession of the Duke of Manchester*. Ed. William Courthope. London, 1859.; Rous, John, *The Rous Roll*. Ed. Charles Ross. London, 1980. Table 1. On the effigy of Sir Nicholas FitzHerbert or Sir William Harcourt. Ross, *The Wars of the Roses*, 136.; 139.; Ward, *Livery*, 45.

<sup>37</sup> Hagemann, Paul, *Die Beziehungen Deutschlands zu England seit dem Vertrage von Canterbury vom 15. August 1416 bis zu Kaiser Sigmunds Ende*. Halle, 1905, 14., 44., 50. cited by Kovács, Hattyú, 235.



The sources highlight in several points Perényi's acts in England and it seems likely that he had good, personal relationship with King Henry V of England, or with other members of the Lancastrian dynasty, who probably also had an influence on whom the King would award the livrée of their House.<sup>38</sup> Perényi might have also formed links with some member of the Lancasters at the synod of Constance, by negotiating with the governors of English foreign policy or with the members of the English synod legation, the king's brothers, John, Duke of Bedford, or, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, or even King Henry's uncle, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester.<sup>39</sup> Perényi could have even had a special personal acquaintance with either King Henry, or one of the prominent members of the House of Lancaster. We would propose that his relationship to one of those Lancastrians present at the Council of Constance dates back to the months preceding the actual visit to England. Perényi might have been a person of great relevance to the English who they wished to grant, perhaps for services he had been doing in preparing the Sigismundian-Lancastrian alliance. Perényi could have been an excellent diplomat as well as a knight of high honours and a real chivalrous figure. His services to the King of Aragon were also rewarded with the Order of the Jar („amprisia jarre”).

János Perényi was quite active in the Sigismundian foreign policy. It is not a surprise that he was a member of the *Societas Draconica* as well. On the tombstone the insignium of the Order of the Dragon also appears. Several donation charters highlight his foreign services – with his numerous retinue – in Western Europe and his diplomatic talent especially regarding the synod of Constance and his workings on ending the schism.<sup>40</sup> (His father, Imre also visited Aachen with Sigismund.<sup>41</sup>) Several members of Sigismund entourage escorted

<sup>38</sup> Albert's donation for his services in „Germanie, Francie, Anglie, Aragonie et alias quamplures regnorum ac mundi partes...”. June 27, 1439: DL 13410. Donation of queen Elizabeth: November 4, 1438: DL 38655.; Others: June 29, 1439: DL 13413.; DL 13414.; February 15, 1438: DL 71976.

<sup>39</sup> Members of the house of Lancaster wore the family insignia, and donated SS chains themselves. John, Duke of Bedford uses the 'S' symbol, in his Book of Hours, his motto appears on 'S' letters. Williams, E. Carleton, *My Lord of Bedford*. London, 1963. 64–65.

<sup>40</sup> Donations for foreign services: April 5, 1439: DL 13334; November 4, 1438: DL 13248. Donation by King Ladislav V, highlighting that was with king not only in Constance but in „Germanie, Francie, Anglie, Aragonie, Lyrgenie, Poloniae ac Bohemie et alias quamplures regnorum et mundi partes”. February 4, 1453: DL 14627. He was also present at Sigismund's coronation in Prague. Mályusz Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon*. [King Sigismund's rule in Hungary] Budapest, 1984. [hereinafter Mályusz, Zsigmond] 98.

<sup>41</sup> September 8, 1414.: „Peron Emerich”, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Sigismund. Deutsche Reichstagsakten Ältere Reihe, 1376–1486*. VII–IX. Hrsg. D. Keller. München-Gotha, 1878–87.; X. H. Herre. Gotha 1906.; XI–XII. G. Beckmann. Gotha 1898–1901. [hereinafter DRTA] VII. 249.

the King to Aragon, and were thus awarded the Order of the Jar, but the Plantagenet devise is to be found only on the Perényi tombstone. Even after Sigismund's death the rulers almost swamped Perényi with donations, emphasizing his efforts for the King abroad.

János's brother, István (later on Lord Chief Steward) received the Order of the Jar from King Ferdinand of Aragon, which is depicted on his tombstone (Rudabánya, Calvinist Church, internal eastern side-wall) – next to the Dragon insignium – but there is no sign of the SS, though most probably István might have been member of the retinue of Sigismund on his England visit.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, it is striking, that the tombstone of the most prestigious member of the Perényi family in the period, namely Imre, father of István and János (Secret Chancellor, †1418) does not represent any chivalric insignia, not even that of the Dragon. Though the tombstone – which originally stood in the monastery founded by Imre in Újháza, between Kurtyán and Felsőnyárad (now held in Hermann Ottó Museum, Miskolc) – survived only in fragments,<sup>43</sup> those parts, where the insignia should have been placed, that is, most probably on the sides of the helmet, remained intact.<sup>44</sup> We do not know, however, that Imre escorted Sigismund anywhere else apart from the coronation in Aachen and the Council of Constance, and thus, he might not have formed such a relationship with England as his son, or sons were able.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Vernei-Kronberger, Magyar középkori, 30.; Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 36–39. (They do not write about insignia.) István Rugonfalvi Kiss discovered that it depicts the Aragonese Order of the Jar. R. Kiss, István, „A Rudabányai ev. Ref. Templom czimeres emlékei” [Heraldic monuments in the Rudabánya Church], = *Turul*, 22, 1905, 3: 97–104. A lavalier, in the middle of a chain consisting of small Jars decorated with 3-3 lilies, portraying the Virgin Mary who stands on a crescent and holds Jesus on her right hand and a scepter in the left. From this a griffin hangs on a small chain, which holds a ribbon with the order's motto. Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 36–39.; Horváth, Henrik, *Zsigmond király és kora*. [King Sigismund and his age] Budapest, 1937. 156., Lövei, Sárkányrend, 154., Cabello – Feld, A Füzeri, 35., 36., 41. Fig. 16.; Engel – Lövei – Varga, Zsigmond-kori bárói, 36–37. Fig. 10.; Lövei, Siremlékszoobrászat, 296. Sz. 52. Kat. sz.; MMűv, I. 588., Fig. II. 1229.; Lövei, Posuit, I. 65. 478.; Fig. 277–278.; Sigismundus, 348–49. Cat. nr. 4.53. (Pál Lövei).

<sup>43</sup> Engel, Pál, „Zsigmond bárói – rövid életrajzok”, In. Művészet, I. 114–130.; 405–58. 438. Czeglédy Ilona, „A kurtyáni pálos kolostor”, = *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*, 25–26. 1986–87 [1988] 211–228. 219., 221. Fig. 20.

<sup>44</sup> Engel – Lövei – Varga, Zsigmond-kori bárói, 35–36., Fig. 9.; Lövei, Siremlékszoobrászat, 296. Cat. nr. Sz. 51.; Lövei, Posuit, I. 332., 335., 340. Fig. 1115–1117., Cabello – Feld, A füzeri, 35., 36., 41. Fig. 15.

<sup>45</sup> He probably left the synod and returned home in 1415. Novák, Ádám, „A sasember fiai. Egy főúri család és familiája Luxemburgi Zsigmond kíséretében” [The sons of the eagle man. A baronial family in the entourage of King sigismund] In. In. *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris. Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából*. [Proceedings of a conference on the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Council of Constance] Eds. Attila Bárány – László Pósan. Debrecen, 2014. 385–400. 388.

Unfortunately, the seals that survived do not help us either in examining whether the barons used any insignia besides the representations on tombstones or not. For example, on the private seal of János Perényi from 1424 only the family coat-of-arms, a figure of a bearded male head between eagle wings can be detected.<sup>46</sup> This is the case with all his survived seals, no evidence of any Western insignia can be proved.

I supposed however that further assistance might have been gained from the will of a member of the Pataki sub-branch of the Perényi, Miklós, Lord Marshal (†1428).<sup>47</sup> Documentary evidence has so far not justified that he was with the King's entourage in England, though he, in line with his cousins of the branch of Secret Chancellor Imre, may have alike been in the Constance retinue. In the will he testified that he had certain golden jewellery in pledge "anulos et monilia", worth 1000 golden florins, of which, though the „monilia” is not given further detail, we might propose, based on the very high value, that it referred to a chain, or a number of chains, probably comprising a chivalric one as well. There is further reference to "alijs clenodiis", e.g. three „monilia”, of which, one is certainly pertaining to the Order of the Dragon, „cum uno dracone cruci superposito”, from which it seems justified that the expression was to have been used to denote knightly chains. The other pieces of the three „monilia”, alike pledged in Buda, worth 50 florins, could have just as well referred to the SS chain, or even to that of the Order of the Jar. It is unfortunate that while the chain of the Order of the Dragon is described in great detail – its cross has four „lapides pretiosi” along its arms, with „una dyamas” in the middle, and the „monilium” has „unus saphireus magnus” and several „perles magne” – the other chains are not at all described. However, as far as we do not have evidence on any representation of Miklós Perényi of the Pataki branch, not to speak of his tombstone, any observation regarding his knightly insignia must be entirely hypothetical.

Interestingly, the later generations of the Perényis do not carry on the use of any insignia, moreover, on the memorials of the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century family members there is not even the Order of the Dragon represented. The tombstone of the son of János, Master of the Treasury István Perényi (†1484/1487, Tőketerebes/Trebišov, Roman Catholic church), which has for long been identified as Palatine Imre Perényi's (†1519) one<sup>48</sup>, was made only 2-3 decades later than János's

<sup>46</sup> DL 11470. Another example, Perényi's seal as Master of the Treasury: September 20, 1452.: DL 70900.

<sup>47</sup> DL 39288. Lővei, Sárkányrend, 154., 172. Kovács, Gótikus, 91.

<sup>48</sup> Venei-Kronberger, Magyar középkori, 47.; Csoma – Csergheő, Alte Grabdenkmäler, 84–88.; Csergheő – Csoma, Perényiek, 300–303. Jolán Balogh rejected the identification with Palatine István in 1974. Balogh, Későrenaissance, 36. In spite of this, it was identified with him later

and István's tombstones (which both have insignia), but still do not show any sign of a knightly order. Unfortunately, Peter's (son of Master of the Treasury János, †1471) tombstone perished (originally placed in Pozsony/ Bratislava, St. Martin Church).<sup>49</sup> For some reason, however, the Order of Dragon is not to be forgotten, but reappears in the family after a few generations.<sup>50</sup> It firstly comes to light on the crosier of Ferenc Perényi (†1526), bishop of Várad, around the blazon on the verso of the figure of Virgin Mary (Nyitra/Nitra, Cathedral),<sup>51</sup> but oddly, on other artefacts connected to the bishop it cannot be detected. We have no trace of it on Perényi's missal (Missale Strigoniense, 1498, Győr, formerly Seminary, then Cathedral Library: it might have to be placed on or near the Perényi coat-of-arms, on the verso of the cover, or, on folio n. 207r.).<sup>52</sup>

Recently, however, a new evidence has come to light in the exhibition of the collection of the Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia (present-day Romania) diocese. Ferenc Perényi's, Bishop of Várad's episcopal chasuble (otherwise formerly known, held at the Piarist Church, formerly Jesuit Church in Kolozsvár/Cluj)

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on, Gervers-Molnár, Sárospataki, Fig. 54. New and correct identification: Lövei, Posuit, I. 341. Fig. 1154–1155.

<sup>49</sup> Lövei, Posuit, I. 52., 86., 341. The other Perényi tombstone, found in the Calvinist Church in Abaújvár and probably being Péter's (Lord Chief Justice, †1423) from the other, Nyaláb branch of the family, does not have any insignia. Lövei, Posuit, I. 340. Fig. 1153. See Héczey-Markó Ágnes – Rácz Miklós, „Egy különös középkori Perényi Péter sírköve az abaújvári református templomban”, = *Folia Historica* 28, 2012, 55–70.

<sup>50</sup> Lövei, Sárkányrend, 154.

<sup>51</sup> Balogh, Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance*. [The Renaissance in Transylvania] I. Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1943. 334. [hereinafter Balogh, Erdélyi]; *A magyar történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás leírása, megnyitott 1884. év február hó 17-én*. [A list of the Hungarian Exhibition of Historical Jewellery, 1884]. Budapest, 1884. 93–95.; Bunyitay Vince, *A várad püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig*. [History of the bishopric of Várad from its foundation to the present age] Vol. I–III. Nagyvárad/Oradea, 1883–1884. III. 72–73.; Pulszky, Károly – Radisics, Jenő, *Az ötvösség remekei*. [Masterpieces of jewellery] Budapest, 1888. I. 89–90.; Fraknói, Vilmos, *A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora*. [The age of the Hunyadi and the Jagiellonians] (A Magyar Nemzet Története. Ed. Sándor Szilágyi, IV.) Budapest, 1896. 641.; *Magyarország közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota ezeréves fennállásakor és az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállítás eredménye*. [The economic and cultural situation of Hungary and the result of the National Millennial Exhibition] Ed. Sándor Matlekovits. Vol. V. Budapest, 1898. 587.; Mihalik, József, „A csücsíves műizlés ötvösművészetének emlékei” [Monuments of Gothic jewellery], In: *Magyarország történeti emlékei az 1896. évi ezredéves országos kiállításon*. II. Eds. Imre Szalay – Béla Czobor. Budapest, 1902–1903. 241.; *Erdélyi művészeti kiállítás 1941*. [Art exhibition in Kolozsvár] Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1941. 22. Cat. nr. 122.

<sup>52</sup> Balogh, Erdélyi, 133. 319., Fig. 241.; Hoffmann, Edith, *Régi magyar bibliofilek*. [Old Hungarian bibliophiles] Budapest, 1929. 187–89. *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541*. Schallaburg, 1982. 547. Cat. nr. 601. Table 54., 56. Table.; Balogh, Jolán, *Várad vára*. [Castle of Várad] Budapest, 1982. 34–36.; Fábrián, Edit, „Várad reneszánsz püspökei és reneszánsz emlékeik” [The Renaissance bishops of Várad and their Renaissance memorials], = *A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, 30, 2004–2005, 5–23. 20.



show representations of knightly insignia.<sup>53</sup> On the longitudinal stem of the episcopal cross, a griffin is depicted along with lily wreaths in nine vases, indicating the Aragonian Order of the Jar, in addition, at the bottom, a slightly slanted semi-circle, consisting of 11 „S” shaped motives can be observed, clearly alluding to the Lancastrian chain. The vestment’s material was made in Utrecht at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while its embroidery is Hungarian.<sup>54</sup> The insignia were discovered only few years ago by Imre Takács. Unfortunately however, we cannot find any hints of the insignia on Ferenc Perényi’s seals, they do not even represent the Order of the Dragon badges.<sup>55</sup> The question arises whether the badges of the Order of the Jar and the Lancastrian collar disappeared for 40–50 years from the family insignia, how it would be possible that it was preserved in the common family memory. It needed also to be revived that these rewards had importance and were to raise the status of the family. This is nevertheless reflected in the fact that Péter Perényi, ispán of Temes (†1548) brought back the Order of the Dragon badge and re-used it at his residence at Siklós (on a relief of the so-called Perényi bastion, the crest is encompassed by a dragon), albeit he lived more generations after those who acquired the reward.<sup>56</sup>

A manuscript representation of chivalric orders of Hungarian nobles has recently been revealed by Zsombor Jékely. A heraldry “catalogue” held at the John Rylands Library, Manchester has been discussed in detail in the author’s recent article,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Millenniumi kiállítás Gyulafehérvár. Válogatás az ezeréves főegyházmegye kulturális kincseiből. Expoziție milenară. Millenary Exposition.* [Selection of the 1000-year-old bishopric] Ed. Hegedüs Enikő. Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, 2009. Cover photo. Hegedüs, Enikő – Takács, Imre, „Egy lovagrendi jelvényekkel díszített kazula”, [A chasuble decorated with chivalric order insignia] = *Ars decorativa* (under publication); Lövei, Pál, „Újabb ismeretek a Sárkányrend emlékeiről” [Recent new evidence on the monuments of the Order of the Dragon], In. *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére.* Ed. Juan Cabello – Norbert C. Tóth. Nyiregyháza, 2011. 259–66. 262.

<sup>54</sup> Sas, Péter, *A kolozsvári jezsuita, más néven piarista templom kincstára.* [The treasury of the Jesuit, presently Piarist Church in Kolozsvár] Kolozsvár/Cluj, 2007. 73. nr. 183.; Idem, „A Jézus Társasága emlékei az egykori kolozsvári jezsuita templomban” [Monuments of Jesuits in the former Jesuit Church in Kolozsvár], In. *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig.* Ed. Szilágyi Csaba. Piliscsaba, 2006. 391–413. 409–410. Fig. 7. According to Lövei the embroidered cross of the casula is from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Lövei, Újabb ismeretek, 262.

<sup>55</sup> Ferenc Perényi, bishop of Várad’s seal, 1520: DL 68029; Temesváry, János, *Az erdélyi püspökök címerei.* [Coats-of-arms of bishops of Transylvania] Budapest, 1930. 11–12.

<sup>56</sup> Lövei, Sárkányrend, 155.

<sup>57</sup> *Livro de Aurotos*, cc. 1416–1417. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Rylands Medieval Collection, Latin Ms 28. Jékely, Zsombor, „Címerkönyvek és címereslevelek: magyar nemesi címerek a konstanzi zsinat idején”, [Heraldry books and coat-of-arm charters: Hungarian noble coat-of-arms in the age of the Council of Constance] In. *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris*, 357–72. 361–62. I am grateful for Zsombor Jékely for calling my attention to the online version of the manuscript in the Rylands Medieval Collection (<http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet/Man4MedievalVC~4~4>) and for his help with his paper

though the fact that the so called Portuguese herald's roll was already been referred to by Pál Lövei.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, he only mentioned that Sigismund's banner and the insignia of the Order of the Dragon is represented, but not yet provided insight into the fact that it contains precious references and images to the knightly insignia and coat-of-arms of Hungarian noblemen. From the point of view of present study it is of prime interest that the coats-of-arms of a number of Hungarian nobles, represented in the Manchester manuscript, have the Lancastrian SS-collar. Apart from János Perényi, Master of the Treasury – for the cross-evidence of whose English award the Portuguese herald is a unique, justifying source, of which I myself have formerly had only a slight guess, not being able to see and have an autopsy of the manuscript in Manchester – a couple of other members of his wider family are depicted with SS-insignia around their blazons, i.e. more precisely in the “neck” of the helmet on the crest. The first in the line of folio 43r is the coat-of-arms of Miklós Perényi of the Rihnói sub-branch (Lord Marshal, †1420), who is proven, also in my former researches to have been in England as a member of the retinue of King Sigismund. The second is another Miklós, with the cognomen “Pataki”, cousin of János Perényi (Lord Marshal, †1428), accordingly wearing the SS-collar, and the third one, again, is another Miklós. The latter – “Nicolaus de Peren”, without having a father named – has been identified by Jékely as being of János's son – probably the author could have had in mind Miklós, son of János, Master Cup-bearer to the King, who died in 1396 on the battlefield of Nicopolis, son of Péter –, though we might propose another solution: this Miklós, not detailed further by the Portuguese herald whose son he was, might be of another branch of the Perényi, of the Rihnói-Krompachi one, son of Dániel (†1444), who could have probably been in the company because of the support of his Rihnói cousin, Miklós, Master of the Treasury, who is standing first in the list here. This Miklós, son of Dániel Krompachi was *aulicus* of King Sigismund from 1411 onwards, and must have escorted the monarch to Constance, and even to England, while of the other Miklós, son of János we do not know anything relevant that may connect his person to the King. There is a fourth iconographic representation in the folio (43r), of Balázs Buzlai, of whom it is documented that he was *familiaris* of the Perényi,<sup>59</sup> but it is still interesting why he, as a non-aristocratic member of the entourage could have been awarded with the Plantagenet insignium.<sup>60</sup> Another folio depicts further

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in manuscript version. Jékely also revealed in his paper that Steen Clemmensen identified a number of Hungarian coats-of-arms. Steen Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book al. Livro de Arautos al. De ministerio armorum. An armorial of the Council of Constance 1414–1418 by an anonymous Portuguese herald*. 2011 Online: [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk) – November 30, 2014.

<sup>58</sup> Lövei, Újabb ismeretek, 263.

<sup>59</sup> Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301–1457*. [Secular archontology of Hungary, hereinafter Archontológia] Vol. I–II. Budapest, 1996. II. 43.; Novák, Sasember, 389.

<sup>60</sup> He escorted Sigismund to Aragon, as signified in his *armalis* donation. ZsO. V. nr. 1091.

Hungarian coat-of-arms, of which two is of particular interest to us. Although Jékely does not mention, when one comes to a closer look at folio 43r, on the second coat-of-arms the SS-collar, though a bit obscure and hard to observe, is also represented, as it is also stated by Steen Clemmensen.<sup>61</sup> It means that Miklós, son of Miklós Perényi, of the Pataki branch does wear and must have been donated the Lancastrian collar. Even though we do not have evidence to support that he was with Sigismund in England, he is documented to have been in Constance in 1417, and even in March 1418.<sup>62</sup> What is surprising to see is that István, brother of János, Master of the Treasury is not at all represented, nor with an SS-collar on the heraldry roll, yet, he must have been with King Sigismund in Constance, and, probably in England. It is even more striking when it comes to a retainer to have been donated the livery, Balázs Buzlai, and a person of the baronial family, who must have been in the royal retinue, István Perényi is not. It is even more important and a great help in research that Jékely revealed that there are not only the Perényi, but other Hungarian noble families are represented with their coats-of-arms. Of those he identifies, along with Clemmensen, the ones with the Lancastrian insignia are of interest to us: János Maróti and Imre Leszteméri (f. 43v).<sup>63</sup> In the case of the former, Maróti it has to be seen whether he could have been in England – I myself in a former study did not list him in the England entourage, as he must have been in Hungary by that time – but now it seems that at a certain time the Portuguese herald could have met him in Constance, probably after the return of Sigismund, perhaps in 1418.<sup>64</sup> Scholars agree that the herald compiled the *Livro* on the premises, probably before and right after the arrival of Sigismund's entourage at the beginning of 1417.<sup>65</sup> It can be postulated that he went to the synod after the King's return from his Aragonian-French-English visits. The latter, Leszteméri has been known to us as having been in the entourage of King Sigismund in England. Leszteméri was in England, as far as his donation charters testify. Imre Leszteméri, son of János was granted *ius gladii* on his family's landed estates for his services from Istria through France to England.<sup>66</sup> He was also granted the office of Vice Lord Marshal in 1420 (deputy of his lord, Miklós Pataki Perényi, Lord Marshal)<sup>67</sup> as

<sup>61</sup> Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 17.

<sup>62</sup> ZsO. VI. nr. 665., 1691.

<sup>63</sup> Jékely, *Cimerkönyvek*, 362.

<sup>64</sup> He was taken captive in Bosnia in July 1415 (ZsO. V. nr. 926; still imprisoned, September 4, 1416: ZsO. V. nr. 2255.), and was not set free until April 1418. ZsO. VI. nr. 1828. It is improbable to us though that he went to meet the King and reached him in Constance as Sigismund left the synod on May 17, 1418. Engel, Pál – C. Tóth, Norbert, *Itineraria regum et reginarum. Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382–1438)*. Budapest, 2005. 104.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> June 25, 1418: ZsO. VI. 2088.

<sup>67</sup> ZsO. VII. nr. 2335.;

well as an *armalis* in 1422.<sup>68</sup> Leszteméri could be of great importance at the court in the field foreign policy, as it is proved by the text of the donation charter, which highlights his assistance in Sigismund's diplomatic negotiations not only in England, Spain, France etc., but in „Burgundie” as well, which indicates that he went on diverse missions and were sent out from the court of Sigismund.

The Portuguese herald's book confirm that Miklós Perényi of the Rihnói branch was in England, as he is also indicated in charters of donation by King Sigismund. The fact, however, that not every one of the England entourage of King Sigismund are depicted as wearing the SS-collar, and even the more illustrious company members – Miklós Garai and Hermann von Zilli<sup>69</sup> – are not, leads us to assume that the ones who do wear, and are described as having the English insignium, did in fact receive the badge from the King of England, and it was not an order automatically given away by Sigismund as commissioned by King Henry V. It needs further researches but I am trying to come forward with the hypothesis, thus confirmed by the *Livro de Arautos* that the SS-collar was donated to certain selected ones, those members of the Sigismundian retinue whom the King of England did wish to award himself. And the circle, who did get the award were to be connected to the Perényi – bearing in mind that those who are wearing the livrée, Leszteméri and Buzlai are all the *familiars* of the family<sup>70</sup> – that is why this was something he did wish to represent by having it carved on his tombstone.<sup>71</sup> Further researches need to be done since the SS-collars worn by Hungarian noblemen in the manuscript are of two different types: one of golden S-S pieces, and another one, which seems to be a leather belt, a blue leather strap held together by a trefoil clasp.<sup>72</sup> Apart from Miklós, son of Pál, of the Rihnói branch all the Perényi family members wear the ordinary SS-belt. There must be an explanation why Rihnói received the golden chain, the more distinguished version of the Lancastrian livery collar, that is why he is placed first in the line: he himself could have been the one especially awarded with the insignium, and could have thus excelled in the service of the English dynasty. Interestingly, János, the would-be Master of the Treasury, who had the SS represented on his tombstone, has only a „secondary” leather belt on the

<sup>68</sup> September 17, 1422: ZsO. IX. nr. 980. Szendrei, János, „A Leszteméri család czimereslevele 1422-ből” [The *armalis* of the Leszteméri family from 1422] = *Turul* 9, 1891, 171–173. 172.; *Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica. Magyar czimeres emlékek*. Eds. László Fejérfpataky – Antal Áldásy. Vol. I–III. Budapest, 1901–26. I. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Jékely, *Cimerkönyvek*, 361.

<sup>70</sup> Buzlai and Leszteméri are retainers of Miklós Perényi of the Pataki branch. Engel, *Archontológia*, II. 43., 145. Buzlai became undersheriff of Trencsén (deputy of his lord, Miklós Pataki Perényi, Lord Marshal and ispán of Trencsén) in 1421: ZsO. VIII. nr. 505.

<sup>71</sup> This is shared by Clemmensen as well. Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 6.

<sup>72</sup> Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 10.

manuscript, and it is his cousin, Rihnói who was the major member of the Perényi who must have been in the particular grace of the King of England. The fact that he was the senior of the Perényi members being present in England might explain why he was awarded the golden livrée.<sup>73</sup> In 1416 he had been *aulicus* for 5 years,<sup>74</sup> and became elevated to Lord Marshal the following year.<sup>75</sup> In 1417, in Constance Nicholas, son of Paul Perényi was rewarded with substantial estates for his duties to the King in Lombardy, France, Germany, Aragon and England.<sup>76</sup> He is one of those favourites and *aulici* who accompanied Sigismund on all his missions from Constance. There are charters that prove that he followed the same itinerary as the King, must have thus been accompanying the royal entourage from Calais to Constance in 1416–17. We find him first at Constance at the same time Sigismund was to arrive from England: in February 1417.<sup>77</sup> His services were favoured greatly, so much as the King donated several other estates to the Lord Marshal at the end of their travels, on his way home. Perényi's services, among others in England are repeated in that charter as well.<sup>78</sup> He was an *aulicus* experienced in foreign matters since he was for example on a mission to Germany, to Louis, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine in 1411.<sup>79</sup>

However, it would be the task of further research why and how the two Miklós cousins, Pataki and Rihnói are both indicated in the Manchester manuscript as „marescallus”. It was already proposed by Pál Engel that Pataki was or a short time in 1418 Lord Marshal (with his being elevated to the position of ispán of Máramaros<sup>80</sup>), at the same time with his cousin, Miklós Rihnói being in office from May 1417.<sup>81</sup> Nevertheless, the *Livro* of the Portuguese herald shows that they are at the same time, probably in 1417 when the manuscript was made holding the office of *marescallus*. Engel found that in 1418 Pataki addresses himself as *ma-*

<sup>73</sup> Miklós Pataki might have been older than János, since he is first mentioned in 1398, while the latter is not in the sources from 1408 onwards. See Novák, Ádám, Sasember, 397. Genealogical table 1.

<sup>74</sup> May 5, 1411.: ZsO. III. nr. 430.

<sup>75</sup> May 9, 1417; and October 12, 1419, respectively. Engel, Archontológia, I. 148.

<sup>76</sup> Constance: May 9, 1417.: ZsO. VI. nr. 423.; He is present in Constance: May 20, 1417: ZsO. VI. nr. 453. On June 15 an installation charter is issued: ZsO. VI. nr. 580.

<sup>77</sup> Sigismund is reported first at Constance on January 27, 1417, and on February 2 we find Perényi there. ZsO. VI. nr. 1453–54.

<sup>78</sup> September 27, 1417.: ZsO. VI. nr. 2374.

<sup>79</sup> May 5, 1411: Perényi is reported to be intending to go to 'Almania'. ZsO. III. nr. 1430. It was an embassy very close to Sigismund's heart, since after the death of his cousin, Jodocus, Marquess of Moravia on January 18, 1411, he again tried to have himself elected Holy Roman King in Germany, and after the unsuccessful vote of 1410, after Rupert's death, Sigismund now wanted to make his elevation more and more certain. Therefore, he sent ambassadors to treat with his 'party' members, Werner, Archbishop of Trier; and Louis, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine. June 4, 1411.: ZsO. nr. III. 524.; July 1. ZsO III. nr. 634.

<sup>80</sup> Engel, Archontológia, I. 153.

<sup>81</sup> Engel, Zsigmond bárói, 437.



*rescallus* in a papal *supplicatio*, while at that time his cousin being *marescallus* as well.<sup>82</sup> Based upon the Manchester manuscript evidence, it seems Pataki could have also used the title before, probably during 1417. It is not uncommon in the administration of Sigismund, especially, in the case of the Perényi, János and István held the office *magister dapiferorum* together, from 1431 to 1437.<sup>83</sup>

János, Miklós's cousin is documented being in royal service as *aulae regiae miles* from 1420 onwards, as his first official office in the royal administration dates only from 1431 as *magister dapiferorum*.<sup>84</sup> Beyond Miklós Rihnoi Perényi, the one identified by Jékely and Clemmensen as János Maróti wears the golden chain (f. 43v). In addition, it is even more interesting to us that the badge of the Order of the Dragon is represented on two coats-of-arms, Miklós Rihnoi's and Miklós Pataki's one, while apart from a mention in the will of the latter (1428), we do not have any evidence of the former one's membership of the order of Sigismund. The *Livro* signifies that Miklós Perényi could have been awarded the order before 1417.

It is of peculiar importance to us that it is rather rare to find the Lancastrian livery collar outside England. I have not yet made an overall examination of the English insignia in heraldry rolls and codices of coats-of-arms, not to speak of the monuments of funerary art all over Europe with the aim of disclosing whether there were analogous representations. In the above mentioned *Livro de Arautos*, for example, apart from the Hungarians the SS-collar is represented only in the case of one Silesian, unidentified nobleman ("de cacumine", f. 63r).<sup>85</sup> It means that Hungarians have the SS-insignia in the greatest number (6) of all nations represented by the Portuguese herald. As far as I could judge based on my investigations, there are only few nobleman outside England who was awarded the SS-collar. It has already been disclosed by Éva Kovács that Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantova received 50 chains in 1436 with the privilege to donate it away further. However, the sources do not say that he received the very collar, the SS-livery, but only "*colerae nostrae aut devisamenti*", yet a treasury inventory from 1416 in the Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga specifies that "*unam colanam auream laboratam ad S adivisam regis Angliae*", or, another source speaks of "*colaria ad S ad divisam regis Angliae*" in 1418, that is, we should take it for certain that he was awarded the Lancastrian insignium. Kovács also calls our attention to the fact that the Ss are to be seen in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantova, in the "*Ciclo cavalleresco arturiano*" painted by Pisanello.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> February 2, 1418: ZsO. VI. nr. 1453.; Engel, *Archontológia*, I. 42. All other evidence show that he was in office only from 1420.

<sup>83</sup> Engel, *Archontológia*, I. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Engel, *Archontológia*, II. 189–90.

<sup>85</sup> Clemmensen, *The Herald's Book*, 30.

<sup>86</sup> Kovács, Hattyú, 235.

An Italian, Giovanni Francesco Capodilista was also awarded the SS-collar, as it can be seen in a manuscript evidence: he himself is described as wearing the livery in the Capodilista Codex (*De viris illustribus familiae Transelgardorum, Forzate et Capitis Listae*, Basel, 1434–35, Padova, Biblioteca Civica).<sup>87</sup> Capodilista was a Venetian envoy at the synod of Basel, that is why he could have been awarded by the King of England himself. In addition, he is seen as wearing the Order of the Dragon as well.

The SS-livery collar is to be found on the tombstones of certain Austrian or South-German noblemen (Reinprecht von Wallsee, †1450, Säusenstein; Jörg Perckhaimer, † after 1450, Vöcklabruck),<sup>88</sup> however, there is no sign that the insignium was awarded in greater number outside the Kingdom of England.

In conclusion, a hypothesis might be proposed: it is mostly those of the Hungarian baronial society who employed Western European livrée or chivalrous insignia in their representation and had foreign badges or devises described on their coat-of-arms or tombstones that were abroad themselves and became acquainted at first hand with the Western European aristocratic way of life and mentality. It is not accidental that Lőrinc Tari, who was working in Sigismund's commission from Rome to Castile and from Venice to Ireland almost everywhere, considered it important to depict in the parish church in Tar the insignia – of the Castilian Order of the Scale and the Cyprian-Lusignan Order of the Sword – testifying his credit and high status obtained throughout Europe.<sup>89</sup> Albeit very few similar sources survived, it can be assumed that the barons being active in foreign policy could have become acquainted at least with the Central European, South German baronial patterns of way of life and tried to follow them. The insignia of a Perényi tombstone is not behind the any other European models of the time, in this respect, a certain progress has been started in Hungary too, if you like a thin layer of the Hungarian landowners have started to get „europeanized”. The increasing application of the livrée of the Order of the Dragon and then the dragon form itself as a crest holder during the 15<sup>th</sup> century leads us to conclude that the baronial society was aware of the elevation of status and rank arising from the use of these insignia and looked upon them as a part of their own aristocratic representation.

<sup>87</sup> „Giovanni Francesco Capodilista: De viris illustribus”, In. Sigismundus, Cat. nr. 4.45. (Zsombor Jékely – Margaret Scott).

<sup>88</sup> Lövei, Uralkodói, 259. Fig. 13–14.

<sup>89</sup> Cabello, Juan, „A tari Szent Mihály templom építéstörténete”, [The history of the architecture of the St. Michael Church in Tar] In. *Művészet* I. 283–96. 289. 294.; Idem, *A tari Szent Mihály templom és udvarház*. [The St. Michael church and mansion house in Tar] Budapest, 1993. 45–46.; 75–76.



*Fig. 1. The Lancastrian SS-collar on the tombstone of János Perényi, Töketerebes/Trebišov, Roman Catholic Church*



*Fig. 2. King Sigismund's Order of the Garter. Armorial of the Order of the Garter, 1588. British Library MS Harley 1864 f. 2v*



*Fig. 3. SS-collar on the effigy of John Beaufort (†1410), Earl of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Canterbury Cathedral*



*Fig. 4. King Henry V, choir, York Minster*





*Fig. 5. The effigy of Sir William Bagot (†1407),  
Parish Church, Baginton, Warwickshire*



*Fig. 6. The effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence (†1421),  
Canterbury Cathedral*





Fig. 7. Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and King Sigismund in Calais, 1416.  
*The Pageant of Richard de Beauchamp, the thirteenth earl of Warwick,*  
 British Library MS Cotton MSE. iv. art. 6. f. 18r.

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